MR GRANT'S SPEECH AT THE RYNDER'S MEETING MAY 7, 1850

Mr. Robert Grant then came forward and said - The assertions made about the colored race being equal to the white man were an outrege upon our heavenborn institutions - an imposition upon those refinde prompting of our inner nature which exemplify the voice of God in the laws of man. I had been assumed hat the black was a man in the full sense of the word. This he respectfully begged leave to deny. It was a ridiculous pretension which had been tolerated too long. " Rhe speaker then entered into proofs, drawn from nature and reason, to show the inferiority of the Negro race and that the creator had designed the negroes to be inferior in their original formation. In conclusion, he said, " I repudiate this most obnoxious abolition gathering and movement as unworthy the age in which we live, and that goodly land where we were born. And I entreat you all to leave your wild speculations in view of transcendental Negro elevation, and confine your efforts to the elevation of those capable of being elevated; and, as sure as the sun shall rise, will success then crown your effort; while as certainly as he sets at night, will defeat, degradation and ruin overwhelm those who in their insane course, and the laws of nature and of nature's god.

New York May 8, 1850

Mr. Garrison recognized " Prof." Grant as a former compositor and pressman in the Liberator office. (See page 396 Vol 3 Garrison's Life

From the Journal of Commerce, May 8, 1850

Prof. Grant- With due thanks to Mr. Garrison and his abolition friends, for their consenting in giving way to me, I will proceed to illustrate some facts in natural history on which the whole basis of abolitionism rests. I merely ask you to look around upon the shades of black and white here represented. Abolitionist assume that all, of whatever color are of the genus homo. we assume that this is repugnant to nature and to nature's God. The professor then made extensive quotations from the writings of eminent naturalists calculated to show that Negroes were not of the human species. This he said he was prepared to prove, though it was a startling announcement to make. Nothing was clearer, or more conclusive. He proceeded accordingly through an abstruse scientific argument in which sundry technical and cabalistic terms were freely interspersed, exciting considerable merriment thereby and advanced what he called the " doctrine of the elevation of the nervous centre" to show by that process the vertebral column was raised from the horizontal to the perpendicular

position. An examination of the head of the Negro would tend to confirm this theory. Everything (he said) indicated that the Negro was only a higher order of the brute creation.. As the monkey is not so perfectly developed in its physical organization as the Negro, so the Negro is not as perfectly developed as the white man. The speaker maintained that to consider the Negro belonging to the human species was abhorrent to nature, and contrary to the laws of God and man.

REV. JOHN CAMPBELL'SoRRITISH BANNER

S.R.WARD

The Rev. Samuel R. Ward who next addressed the meeting was just the man to succeed Mr. Smith, and sustain the interest since in addition to intellectual power and rhetorical ability of a very high order, he has the advantage of a black face and a foreign birth - things which always take with an English audience. Mr. Ward since his arrival in England, has been most severely tested - tested beyond every other man of color that ever came to these shores. he has been called to speak in all sorts of meetings upon all sorts of subjects, under every variety of circumstance, side by side with the first men of the time, and in no case has he failed to acquit himself with honor. He has not merely sustained the first impressions he produced, but materially added to them. We are not aware that he has in an single instance come short of the public expectation or made what is known among us as a failure. His resources are inexhaustible and his versatility is such that he is always at home, while his tact would make him a formidable antagonisy for the astuest man among us. The friends of the slave in the New World could not have selected a more meet human sequel to " Uncle Tom". The key was even more and we presume, sixteen stone weight, gifted with a eloquence, to turn the key - that is the finishing stroke. There is the book! there is the man! Is there a line in the former that is not rendered a credible by the exhibition by the " Uncle Tom" and the advent of Sam. R. Ward. His special object wholly apart, his appearance in England at this time has preeminently contributed to the interest of the slave. Shame and indignation are the uniform accompaniments of his orations that such a man and the race to which he belongs should be seized and robbed of their inalienable rights on the simple ground of their color, when giving proofs of fitness for the fellowship, not of horses and of oxen, but of the most cultivated portion of the white men. Mr. Ward was happy in his attempt to illustrate the importance of the Sunday School in new countries.

Through the long lapse of ages, ut has been common for nations to record whatever was peculiar or interesting in the course of their history. Thus when Heaven, provoked by the iniquities of man, has visited the earth with the pestilence which moves in darkness or destruction, that wasteth at noonday, and has swept from existence, by thousands, its numerous inhabitants; or when the milder terms of mercy have been dispensed in rich abundance, and the goodness of God has crowned the efforts of any people with peace and prosperity; they have been placed upon their annals, and handed down to future ages, both for their amusement and profit, And as the nations which have already passed away, have been careful to select the most important events, peculiar et to themselves, and have recorded them for the good of the people that should succeed them, so will we place it upon our history; and we will tell the good story to our children and to our children's c ildren, down to the latest posterity, that on the 4th day of July in the year of our Lord 1827, slavery was abolished in the State of New York.

Seldom, if ever, was there an occasion which required a public acknowledgement, or that deserved to be retained with gratitude of heart to the all-wise disposer of events, more than the present on which we have assembled. It is not the mere gratification of the pride of the heart, or any vain ambitious notion, that has influenced us to make our appearance in the public streets of our city, or to assemble in the sanctuary of the Most High this morning; but we have met to offer our tribute of thanksgiving and praise to almighty God for his goodness; to retrace the acts and ex

press our gratitude to our public benefactors, and to stimulate each other to the performance of every good and virtuous act, which now does, or hereafter may devolve as a duty upon us, as freemen and citizens in common with the rest of community.

And if ever it were necessary for me to offer an apology to an audien for my absolute inability to perform a task assigned me, I feel that the present is the period. However, relying, f for support on the hand of Him who has said, " I will never leave nor forsake"; and confiding in your charity for every necessary allowance, I venture to engage in the arduous undertaking. In contemplating the subject before us, in connection with the means by which so glorious an event has been accomplished, e find much which requires our deep humiliation and our most exalted praises. e are permitted to behold one of the most pernicious and abominable of all enterprises, in which the depravity of human nature ever led man to engage, entirely eradicated. The power of the tyrant is proclaimed to the captive, and the opening of the prison to those who were bound, and he who had long been the miserable victim of cruelty and degradation, is elevated to the common rank in hich our benevolent Creator first designed, that man whoulc move— s all of which have been effected by means the most simple, yet perfectly efficient; Not by those fearful judgments of the almighty, which ahve so have so often fell upon the different parts

of the earth; which have overturned nations and kingdoms; scattered thrones and sceptres; nor is the glory of the achievement, tarnished with the horrors of the field of battle. We hear not the cries of the the widow and the fatherless; nor are our hearts affected with the sight of garments rolled in blood; but all has been done by the diffusion and influence of the pure, yet powerful principles of benevolence, before which the pitiful impotency of tyranny and oppression, is scattered and dispersed, like the chaff before the rage of the whirlwind.

I will not, on this occasion, attempt fully to detail the abomonations of the traffic to which we have already alluded. Slavery, with its concomitants and consequences, in the best attire in which it can possibly be presented, is but a hateful monster, the very demon of avarice and oppression, from its first introduction to the present time; it has been among all nations the scourge of heaven, and the curse of the earth. It is so contrary to the laws which the God of nature has laid down as the rule of action by which the conduct of man is to be regulated towards his fellow man, which binds him to love his neighbor as himself, that it ever has, and ever will meet the decided disapprobation of heaven. In whatever form we behold it, its visage is satanic, its origin the very offspring of hell, and in all cases its effects are grievous.

On the shores of Africa, the horror of the scene commences; here, the merciless tyrant divested of everything human, except the form begins the action. The laws of God and the tears of the oppressed are alike disregarded; and with more than savage barbarity, husbands and wives, parents and children, are parted to meet no more: And, if not doomed to an untimely death, while on the passage, yet are they for life consigned to a captivity still more terrible; a captivity at the very thought of which every heart not already biassed with unhallowed prejudices or callous to every tender impressions pauses and revolts; exposed to the caprice of those whose tender mercies are cruel; unprotected by the laws of the land, and doomed to drag out miserable existence, without the remotest of shadow of a hope of deliverance, until the kind of terrors shall have executed his office, and consigned them to the kinder slumbers of death. But its pernicious tendency may be traced still farther; not only are its effects of the most disastrous character, in relation to the slave, but it extends its influence to the slave- holder; and in many instances it is hard to say which is most wretched, the slave or the master. After the ~~fal~~ fall of man, it would seem that God, foreseeing that pride and arrogance would be the necessary consequences of the apostacy, and that man would seek to usurp undue authority over his fellow, wisely ordained that he should obtain his bread by the sweat of his

brow; but contrary to this sacred mandate of heaven, slavery has been introduced, supporting the one in all the absurd luxuries of life, at the expense of the liberty and independence of the other. Point me to any section of the earth where slavery, to any considerable extent exists, and I will point you to a people whose morals are corrupted; and then pride, vanity and profusion are permitted to range unrestrained in all their desolating effects, and thereby idleness and luxury are promoted, under the influence of which, man, becoming insensible of his duty to his God and his fellow creature; and indulging in all the pride and vanity of his own heart, says to his suul, thou has much goods laid up for many years. But while thus sporting, can it be done with impunity? Has conscience ceased to be active? Are there no forebodings of a future day of punishment, and of meeting the merited avenger? Can he retire after the business of the day and repose in safety? Let the guards around his mansion, the barred doors of his sleeping room, and the loaded instruments of death beneath his pillow, answer the question/) And if this were all, it would become us, perhaps to cease to murmur, and bow in silent submission to that providence which had ordained this present state of existence, to be but a life of degradation and suffering.

Since affliction is but the common lot of men, this life, at best is but a vapor that ariseth and soon passeth away. Man, said the inspired sage, that is born of a woman, is of few days and full of trouble; and in a certain sense, it is not material what our present situation may be, for short is the period that humbles all to the dust, and places the monarch and the beggar, the slave and the master upon equal thrones. But although this life is short, and attended with one entire scene of anxious perplexity and few and evil are the days of our pilgrimage; yet man is advancing to another state of existence, in which happiness or misery await us all. The great author of our existence has marked out the way that leads to the glories of the upper world, and through the redemption which is in Christ Jesus, salvation is offered to all. But slavery forbids even the approach of mercy; it stands as a barrier in the way to ward off the influence of divine grace; it shuts up the avenues of the soul, and prevents its receiving divine instruction; and scarce does it permit its miserable captives to know that there is a God, a Heaven or a Hell!

Its more than detestable picture has been attempted to be portrayed by the learned, and the wise, but all have fallen short, and acknowledged their inadequacy to the task and have been compelled to submit, by merely giving an imperfect shadow of its reality. Even the immortal Wilberforce, a name that can never die while Africa lives, after exerting his ingenuity, and exhausting the strength of this masterly mindm resigns the effort, and calmly submits by saying, " never was there indeed a system so replete with wickedness and cruelty to whatever part of it we turn our eyes; we could find no comfort, no satisfaction, no relief. It

was the gracious ordinance of providence, both in the natural and moral world, that good should often arise out of evil. Hurricanes clear the air; and the propagation of truth was promoted by persecution, pride and vanity, and profusing contributed often, in their remoter consequences, to the happiness of mankind. In common, what was in itself evil and vicious, was permitted to carry along with it some circumstances of palliation. The Arab was hospitable, the robber brave; we did not necessarily find cruelty associated with fraud or meanness with injustice. But here the case was far otherwise. It was the prerogative of this detestable traffic, to separate from evil its concomitant good, and to reconcile discordant mischief. It robbed war of its generosity, it deprived peace of its security. We saw in it the vices of polished society, without its knowledge or its comforts, and the evils of barbarism without its simplicity; no age, no sex, no rank, no condition, was exempt from the fatal influence of this wide wasting calamity. Thus it attained to the fullest measure of its pure, unmixed, unsophisticated wickedness; and scorning all competition or comparison, it stood without a rival in the secure and undisputed possession of its detestable pre-eminence." Such were the views which this truly great and good man, together with his fellow phianthropists, took of this subject, and such are the strong terms in which he has seen fit to express his utter abhorence of its origin and effects. Thus have we hinted at some of the miseries connected with slavery. And while I turn my thoughts back and survey what is past, I see our forefathers seized by the hand of the rude ruffians, and torn from their native homes and all that they held dear or sacred. I follow them down the lonesome way/ until I see each safely placed on board the gloomy slave ship; I hear the passive groan, and the clanking of the chains which bind them. I see the tears which follow each other in quick succession adown the dusky cheek. I view them casting the last and longing look towards the land which gave them birth, until at length the ponderous anchor is weighed, and the canvass spread to catch the favored breeze; I veiw them wafted onward until they arrive at the destined port; I behold those who have been so unfortunate as to survive the passage, emerging from their loathsome prison, and landing amidst the noisy rattling of the massy fetters which confine them; I see the crowd of trafficers in human flesh gathering each anxious to seize the favored opportunity of enriching himself with their toils, their tears and their blood. I view them doomed to the most abject state of degraded misery, and exposed to suffer all that unrestrained tyranny can inflict, or that human nature is capable of sustaining.

Tell me, ye mighty waters, why did ye sustain the ponderous load of misery? Or speak, ye winds, and say why it was that ye executed your office to waft them onward to the still more

dismal state; and ye proud waves, why did you refuse to lend your aid and to have overwhelmed them with your billows. Then should they have slept sweetly in the bosom of the great deep, and so have been hid from sorrow, And, oh, thou immaculate God, be not angry with us, while we come into this thy sanctuary, and make the bold inquiry in this thy holy temple, why it was that thou didst look on with the calm indifference of an unconcerned spectator, when they holy law was violated, thy divine authority despised and a portion of thine own creatures reduced to a state of mere vassalage and misery: Hark! while he answers from on high: hear him proclaiming from the skies - Be still, and know that I am God! Clouds and darkness are round about me; yet righteousness and judgment are the habitation of my throne. I do my will and pleasure in the heavens above, and in the earth beneath; it is my sovereign prerogative to bring good out of evil, and cause the wrath of man to praise me, and the remainder of that wrath I will restrain. Strange, indeed, is the idea, that such a system, fraught with such consummate wickedness should ever have found a place in this the otherwise happiest of all countries, - a country, the very soil of which is said to be consecrated to liberty, and its fruits the equal rights of man. But strange as the idea may seem or paradoxical as it may appear to those acquainted with the constitution of the government, or who have read the bold declaration of the nation's independence; yet it a fact that can neither be denied or controverted, that in the United States of America, at the expiration of fifty years, there are no less than fifteen hundred thousand humen beings still in a state of unconditional vassalage

Yet America is first in the profession of the love of liberty, and loudest in proclaiming liberal sentiments towards all other nations, and feels herself insulted, to be branded with any thing bearing the appearance of tyranny or oppression. Such are the palpable inconsistencies that abound among us and such is the medley of contradictions which stain the national character, and renders the American republic a by-word, even a ong despotix nations. But while we pause and wonder at the contradictory sentiments held forth by the nation, and contrast its profession and practice, we are happy to have it in our power to render an apology for the existence of the evil, and to offer an excuse for the framers of the constitution. It was before the sons of Columbia felt the yoke of their oppressors, and rose in their strength to put it off that this land become contaminated with slavery. Had this not been the case, led by the spirit of pure republicanism that then possessed the souls of those patriots who were struggling for liberty, this soil would have been sufficiently guarded against its intrusion, and the people of these United States to this day, would have been strangers to so great a curse. It was by the permission of the British parliament, that the human species first became an article of merchandise among them, and as they were

necessary to its introduction, it well becomes them to be, first, as a nation, in arresting its progress and effecting its expulsion It was the immortal Clarkson, a name that will be associated with all that is sublime in mercy, until the final consummation of all things, who first looking abroad, beheld the sufferings of Africa and looking at home, he saw his country stained with her blood. He threw aside the vestments of the priesthood and consecrated himself to the holy purpose of rescuing a continent from rapine and murder, and of erasing this one sin from the book of his nation's iniquities. Many were the difficulties to be encountered, many were the hardships to be endured, many were the persecutions to be met with ; formidable indeed was the opposing party. The sensibility of the slave merchants and planters was raised to the highest pitch of resentment. Influenced by the love of money, every scheme was devised, every measure was adopted, every plan was executed, that might throw the least barrier in the way of the holy cause of the abolition of this traffic. The consequences of such a measure were placed in the most appalling light that ingenious falsehood could invent; the destruction of commerce, the ruin of the merchants, the rebellion of the slaves, the massacre of the planters, were all artfully and fancifully pictured, and reduced to a certainty in the minds of many of the members of parliament, and a large proportion of the community. But the cause of justice and humanity were not to be deserted by him andhis fellow philanthropists, on account of difficulties. We have seen them for 20 years persevering against all opposition, and surmounting every obstacle they found in their way. Nor did they relax aught of their exertions, until the cries of the oppressed having roused the sensibility of the nation, the island empress rose in her strength, and said to this foul traffic, " thus far has thou gone, but thou shalt go no farther." Happy for us, my brethren, that the principles of benevolence were not exclusively confined to the isle of Great Britain. There have lived, and there still do live, men in this country who are patriots and philanthropists, not merely in name but in heart and practice; men whose compassions have long since led them to pity the poor and despised sons of Africa. They have heard their groans, and have seen their blood, and have looked with an holy indignation upon the oppressor: Nor was there any thing wanting except the power to have crushed the tyrrant and liberated the captive. Through their instrumentality, the blessings of freedom have long since been enjoyed by all classes of people throughout Neq England, and through their influence, under the Almighty we are enabled to recognize the fourth day of the present month, as the day in which the cause of justice and humanity have triumphed over tyranny and oppression, and slavery is forever banished from the State of New York.

Among the many who have vindicated the cause of the oppressed, within the limits of this state, we are proud to mention

the names of Eddy and Murray, of Jay and Tompkins, who , together with their fellow philanthropists embarked in the holy cause of emancipation, with a zeal which well expressed the sentiments of their hearts. They proved themselves to be inflexible against scorn, epersecution and contempt; and although all did not live to see the conflict ended, yet their survivors never relaxed their exertions until the glorious year of 1817, when, by the wise and patriotic legislature of this state, a law was passed for its final extirpation. We will mourn for those who are gone, we will honor those who survive, until time extinguishes the lamp of their their existence. When dead, they shall still live in our memory; we will follow them to their tombs, we will wet their graves with our tears and upon the heart of every descendant of Africa, their deeds shall be written, and their names shall vibrate sweetly from ear to ear, down to the latest posterity. From what has already taken place, we are encouraged to expect still greater things. We look forward with pleasing anticipation to that period, when it sha shall no longer be said that in a land of freemen there are men in bondage but when this foul stain will be entirely erased, and

this, aorst of evils, will be forever done away. The progress of emancipation, though slow, is nevertheless certain; It is certain because that God who has made of one blood all nations of men, and who ha is said to be no respecter of persons, has so decreed; I therefore have no hesitation in declaring from this sacred place that ax not only throughout the United States of America, but throughout every part of the habitable world where slavery exists, it will be abolished. However great may be the opposition of those who are supported by the traffic, yet slavery will cease. The lordly planter who has his thousands in bondage, may stretch himself upon his couch of ivory and sneer at the exertions which are made by the humane and benevolent, or he may take his stand upon the floor of Congress and mock the pitiful generosity of the east or west for daring to meddle with the subject, and attempting to expose its injustice; he may threaten to resist all efforts for a general or a partial emancipation even to a dissolution of the union. But still I declare that slavery will be extinct, a universal and not a partial emancipation must take place; nor is the period far distant. The indefatigable exertions of the philanthrophists in England to have it abolished in their West India Islands, the recent revolutions in South America, the catastrophe and exchange of power in the Isle of Hayti, the restless disposition of both master and slave in the southern states, the constitution of our government, the effects of literary and moral instruction, the generous feelings of the pious and benevolent, the influence and spread of the holy religion of the cross of Christ, and the irrevocable decrees of Almighty God, all combine their efforts and with united voice declare, that the power of tyranny must be

subdued, the captive must be liberated, the oppressed go free, and slavery must revert back to its original chaos of darkness, and be forever annihilated from the earth. Did I believe that it would always continue, and that man to the end of time would be permitted with impunity to usurp the same undue authority over his fellow, I would disallow any allegiance or obligation I was under to my fellow creatures, or any submission that I owed to the laws of my country; I would deny the superintending power of divine providence in the affairs of this life; I would ridicule the religion of the Saviour of the world, and treat as the worst of men the ministers of the everlasting gospel; I would consider my Bible as a book of false and delusive fables, and commit it to the flames; nay, I would still go farther; I would at once confess myself an etheist, and deny the existence of a holy God.

But slavery will cease, and the equal rights of man will be universally acknowledged. Nor is its tardy progress any argument against its final accomplishment. But do I hear it loudly responded, - this is but a mere wild fanaticism, or at best but the misguided conjecture of an untutored descendant of Africa. Be it so. I confess my ignorance, and bow with due deference to my superiors in understanding; but if in this case I err, the error is not peculiar to myself; if I wander, I wander in a region of light from whose political himisphere the sun of liberty pours forth his refulgent rays, around which dazzle the star like countenances of Clarkson, Wilberforce, Pitt, Fox, and Grenville, Washington, Adams, Jefferson, Hancock and Franklin; if I err, it is their sentiments that have caused me to stray. For these are the doctrines which they taught while with us; nor can we reasonable expect that since they have entered the unbounded space of eternity, and have learned more familiarly the perfections of that God who governs all things that their sentiments have altered. Could they now come forth among us, they would tell that what they have learned in the world of spirits, has served only to confirm what they taught while here; they would tell us, that all things are rolling on according to the sovereign appointment of the eternal Jehovah, who will overturn and overturn until he whose right it is to reign, shall come and the period will be ushered in; when the inhabitants of the earth will learn by experience what they are now slow to believe - that our God is a God of justice, and no respecter of persons. But while on the one hand we look back and rejoice at what has already taken place, and on the other we look forward with pleasure to that period when men will be respected according to their characters, and not according to their complexion, and when their vices alone will render them contemptible; while we rejoice at the thought of this land's becoming a land of freemen, we pause, we reflect. What we would ask is liberty without virtue? It tends to lasciviousness; and what is freedom but a curse, and even de-

struction, to the profligate? Not more desolating in its effects is the mountain torrent, breaking from it s lofty confines and rushing with vast impetuosity upon the plains beneath, marring as it advances all that is lovely in the works of nature and of art, than the votaries of vice and immorality, when permitted to range unrestrained. Brethren, we have been called into liberty; only let us use that liberty as not abusing it. This day commences a new era in our history; new scenes, new prospects upon before us, and it follows as a necessary consequence, that new duties devolve upon us; duties which if properly attended to cannot fail to improve our moral condition and elevate us to a rank of respectable standing with the community; or if neglected we fall at once into the abyss of contemptible wretchedness: It is righteousness alone that exalteth a nation, and sin is a reproach to any people. Our liberties says Mr. Jeffersob, are the gift of God, and they are not to be violated but with his wrath. nations and individuals have been b;est of the Almighty in proportion to the manner in which they have appreciated the mercies conferred upon them; an abuse of his goodness has always incured his righteous frown while a right improvement of his beneficence has secured and perpetuated his gracious smiles; an abuse of his goodness has caused those fearful judgments which have destroyed cities, demolished thrones overturned empires, and humbled to the dust the proudest and most exalted of nations. As a confirmation of which, the ruinous heaps of Egypt, Tyre, Babylon and Jerusalem, stand as everlasting monuments. If we would then answer the great design of our creation, and glorify the God who has made us; if we would avert the judgment of Heaven; if we would honor our public benefactors; it we would counteract the designs of our enemies; if we would have our own blessings perpetuated, and secure the happiness of our children and our childrenIs children, let each come forward and act well his part in whatever circle he may move, or in whatever station he may fill; let the fear of God and the good of our fellow men, be the governing principles of the heart. we do well to remember, that every act of ours is more or less connected with the cause of the people of color, and with the general cause of emancipation. Our conduct has an important bearing not only on those who are yet in bondage in this country, but its influence is extended to the isles of India, and to every part of the world where the abomination of slavery is known. Let us then relieve ourselves from the odious stigma which some have long since cast upon us, that we were incapacitated by the God of nature, for the enjoyment of the rights of freemen, and convicne them and the world that although our complexion may differ, yet we have hearts susceptible of feeling; judgment capable of discerning and prudence sufficient to manage our affairs with discretion, and by example prove ourselves worthy the blessings we enjoy - That it is the duty of all rational creatures to consule the interest of their species, is a fact against which there can be no reasonable objection. It is

recorded to the honor of Titus, who perhaps was the most benevolent of all the Roman emperors: on recollecting one evening that he had done nothing the day preceding beneficial to mankind the monarch exclaimed, " I have lost a day." The wide field of usefulness is now open before us, and we are called upon by every consideration of duty which we owe to our God, to ourselves, to our children and to our fellow-creatures generally to enter with a fixed determination to act well our part and labor to promote the happiness and welfare of all. There remains much to be done and there is much to encourage us to action. The foundation for literary, moral and religious improvement we trust is already laid in the formation of the public and private schools for the instruction of our children, together with the churches of different denominations already established. From these institutions we are encouraged to expect the happiest results; and while many of us are passing down the declivity of life and fast hastening to the grave, how animating the thought that the rising generation is advancing under more favorable auspicies than we were permitted to enjoy soon to fill the places we now occupy; and in relation to them vast is the responsibility that rests upon us; much of their future usefulness depends upon the discharge of the duties we owe them. They are advancing not to fill the place of slaves, but of freemen; and in order to fill such a station with honor to themselves, and with good to the public hownecessary their education how important the moral and religious cultivation of their minds! Blessed be God we live in a day that our fathers desired to see, but died without the sight; a day which science, like the sun of the firmament, rising, darting as he advances his beams to every quarter of the globe. The mists and darkness scatter at his approach and all nations and people are blessed with his rays; so the glorious light of science is spreading from east to wet, and Afric's sons are catching the glance of its beams as it passes; its enlightening rays scatter the mists of moral darkness and ignorance which have but too long overshadowed their minds; it enlightens the understanding, directs the thoughts of the heart, and is calculated to influence the soul to the performance of every good and virtuous act. The God of nature has endowed our children with intellectual powers surpassed by none; nor is there anything wanting but their careful cultivation, in order to fit them for stations the most honorable, sacred or useful. And may we not, without becoming vain in our imaginations, indulge the pleasing anticipation, that within the little circle of those connected with our families, there may hereafter be found the scholar, the statesman, or the herald of the cross of Christ. Is it too much to say that among that little number there shall yet be one found like to the wise legislator of Israel who shall take his brethren by the hand, and lead them forth from worse than Egyptian bondage to the happy Cannan of civil and religious liberty; or one whose devotedness towards the cause of God, and whose zeal for the salvation of Africa, shall cause him to leave the land which gave him birth, and cross the Atlantic, eager to plant the standard of the

cross upon every hill of that vast continent, that has hitherto ignobly submitted to the baleful crescent, or crouched under the iron bondage of the vilest superstitution. Our prospects brighten as we pursue the subject, and we are encouraged to look forward to that period when the moral desert of Africa shall submit to cultivation, and verdant groves and fertile valleys, watered by the streams of Siloia, shall meet the eye that has long surveyed only the wide spread desolations of slavery, despotism and death. How changed shall then be the aspect of the moral and political world! Africa elevated to more than her original dignity, and redressed for the many aggravated and complicated wrongs she has sustained, with her emancipated sons, shall take her place a ong the other nations of the earth. The iron manacles of slavery shall give place to the still stronger bonds of brotherly love and affection and justice and equity shall be the governing principles that shall regulate the conduct of men of every nation. Influenced by such motives, encouraged by such prospects, let us enter the field with a fixed determination to live and to die in the holy cause.

H Y MM N.

Tune- " Van Halls' Hymn."

" Afric's sons, awake, rejoice!
To you this day sounds freedom's voice;
This day to us our birthright's given;
United raise your thanks to heaven.

May every son, with grateful heart,
This day from others set apart:
The hour that first proclaim'd us free,
Shall be our lasting jubilee.

When history unrols her page
Of Afric's degraded age,
Then shall the dawn of freedom's light
A radiance shed o'er slavery's night.

Come , raise your thankful voice to Heaven ;
To us Religion's truths are given;
In lands where late the heathen trod,
Now Ethiopia seeks her God.

O! may he guide our rugged way;
Our flame by night, our cloud by day;
Our injuries let all forgive,
And by the gospel's precepts live.

Speech delivered at the Anti-Colinization meeting
in Exeter Hall, London, July 13, 1833

The Rev. N. Paul then came forward and said)

In rising to address an audience of this description, I shall not offer an apology, because I consider it to be uncessary. Nature has furnished me with an apology in the complexion that I wear, and that shall speak in my behalf. (Cheers)

Allow me to say that Mr. Garrison has, for many years past devoted himself exclusively to the interests of the slaves and the free people of color in the United States of America. He requires, however, no commendation from me, or from any other gentleman whatever; " the tree is known by its fruits," and " out of the abundance of the heart, the mouth speaketh." But if there be any necessity for calling evidence in favor of that gentleman, there is an abundance, demonstrating that he has acted a most disinterested part on behalf of those whose cause he has espoused. It has been his lot to make large sacrifices, in order that he might be enabled to pursue the object of his heart's desire. He might have swum upon the tide of popular applause, and have had the great and the noble of our country on his side, who would now have been applauding him, instead of persecuting him as the disturber of the peace and tranquility of the nation, if he had not lifted up his voice on behalf of the suffering slaves. (hear, hear.) To my certain knowledge, when he commenced his career, it was under the most unfavorable circumstances. No one stood forward in his defence, and je was under the necessity of adopting and pursuing a system of the most rigid economy, in order that he might be sustained while he was engaged in the important work he had undertaken

The Chairman here rose and said- I see that the gentleman who wishes to speak in favor the colonization scheme, is withdrawing; but if he will wait till our regular business is gone through , I shall be happy to sit any length of time to hear an advocate of that Society. (Cheers) Let us, however first know that he authorized to speak on its behalf. Ig our friend, Dr. Hodgkin, whom I see sitting by his side, will declare him to be the representative of Mr. Cresson, I shall be most happy to have a fair discussion - it is what of all things we wish for. We want the points at issue fairly met. (Cheers)

The Rev. Mr. Abrahams said, that he had long been a resident in North America and he wished to vindicate the American Colonization Society against the calumnious aspersions that had been cast upon it. He was as much a friend to the blacks as any one present..

Daniel O'Connell, Esq., said it will be uncessary to put the gentleman under the necessity of showing that he comes here in a delegated capacity. If he remains here till the business is closed, whoever he represents it is our business to gather the truth. If he comes forward like myself, as an abolitionist, though he may be mistaken, we will respect his motives. (Cheers)

The Rev. N. Paul resumed - But it is not merely the sacrifice that Mr. Garrison has made, or the rigid system of economy that he has adopted, that speaks on his behalf, but the sufferings that he has endured likewise recommend him to the attention of every philanthropist. This gentleman has suffered forty-nine days incarceration in a prison in the city of Baltimore, in the State of Maryland, because he had the hardihood to engage in defence of the suffering slaves in that State. The fact of Mr. garrison's imprisonment has been loudly sounded throughout this country. The agent of the American Colonization Society has seen fit to represent Mr. Garrison as a mere pamphleteer, as the editor of a negro newspaper in the United States, and as a convicted libeller. This is the manner in which this gentleman has been has been spoken of in this country, by the agent of the American Colonization Society. And does that agent suppose that by such mere slang he can lower Mr. garrison in the estimation of the British public? The simpleton reminds me of another of whom I have heard, who , for some cause or other, became exceedingly exasperated at the moon, and stood the whole night angrily shaking his fist at it, but could not reach it. (Cheers). I make no complaint against the agent of the American Colonization Society for stating the fact that Mr. Garrison was convicted, and thrown into prison in the United States; it is a fact, and he had a right to the advantage of it whenever he saw fit. I only blame him because, in stating it, he did not tell the cause why - who the persons were at whose instigation it was done - or the character of the court that condemned him. Inasmuch as that gentleman did not perform that part of his duty, if you will allow me I will undertake to discharge it for him. Perhaps it is not generally known that in the United States of America - that land of freedom and equality - the laws are so exceedingly liberal that they give to men the liberty of purchasing as many negroes as he can find means to pay for (hear, hear) and also the liberty to sell them again. In consequence of this, a regular system of merchandize is established in the souls and bodies of our fellow creatures. it so happened that a very large number of mercantile gentlemen resided in the city of Baltimore and its vicinity, who were engaged in this traffic; and, Mr. Garrison had the impudence, the unblushing effrontery to state, in a public news paper, that this traffic was a direct violation of the laws of God and contrary to the principles of human nature (cheers) This was the crime of which he was convicted. And now I will tell you the character of the judicial

tribunal before which the conviction took place. Allow me to say, and let that suffice, that the judges of the court weere slaveholders, (hear, hear), and the jury likewise. Had it been the case that such men as William Wilberforce, Thomas Clarkson, Thomas Fowell Buxton, James Cropper, and in addition to these, the honorable gentlemen who sits on my right, (Mr. O'Connell), (cheers), and had these gentlemen in the place where Mr. Garrison resided pursued the course they have adopted in this country, they would have been indicted, convicted, and thrown into prison. In regard to my friend on my right, (Mr. O'Connell), I know not what they would have done with him; he could have expected no quarters whatever. (Laughter and cheers). I believe he has more than once arraigned the American Republic before the British community, before God, and before the world, as the most detestable political hypocrite in the world. And this is not all. I may say, in addition, that that Court and that Jury would have convicted the whole Anti-Slavery Society of this country, and would have transported them all to Piberia as the punishment of their crimes. (laughter and loud cheers).

These are the causes and these the reasons why our friend, Mr. Garrison, was imprisoned; and as I said before, tho'

I have no complaint to make against the agent of that benevolent institution, as it is called - the American Colonization Society - for stating that Mr. Garrison was cast into prison; yet I submit that, in connexion with it, he ought to have told the reasons why it took place. But I shall leave this Garrison to itself. It possesses, I believe, ammunition enough to defend itself from any attack that may be made upon it, either by the agent of that Society, or the gentleman who has appeared here to plead on its behalf this morning. (Loud applause). I now come directly to express my views in relation to the American Colonization Society.

As a colored man, and as a citizen of the United States, it necessarily follows that I must feel more deeply interested in its operation, than many other individual present. In relation to the Society, I know not which is the most detestable in my view - its cruelty, or its hypocrisy. Both of these are characteristics of its whole operation. I brand it as a cruel institution, and one of the most cruel that has ever been brought into existence by the ingenuity of man. If I am asked, why it is cruel? I answer, in the first place, because it undertakes to expel from their native country hundreds of thousands of unoffending and inoffensive individuals, who, in time of war, have gone forth into the field of battle, and have contended for the liberties of that country. Why does it seek to expel them? because the God of heaven has given them a different complexion from themselves (Cheers). I say it is a cruel institution, because it seeks to rob the colored men in that country of every right, civil, political or religious, to which they are entitled by the American Declaration of Independence

It is through the influence of that Society, to the everlastint disgrace of a land boasting of the liberty and equality, that there are laws enacted which absolutely forbid the instruction of the slave, or even the free person of color, in the use of letters. I say it is a cruel institution, because in addition to this, it has also been the means of having laws enacted which prevents them from meeting together to pay homage to their Creator, and Worship the God who made them. I might go on enumerating instances of cruelty, and show to this meeting that even combinations have been formed in what are called the free States, under the influence of this Society, not to give to the colored man employment, but to rob him of the means of gaining his livelihood, that he may thereby be compelled to leave the land of his nativity, and go to Africa. In the next place, I condemn the Society on account of its hypocrisy; and this, I believe, will be detested wherever it appears by every honest man. And wherein does that hypocrisy consist or appear? I mean more particularly in regard to the representations which have been made of the Society in this country. It comes to Great Britain, and begins to talk about the evils of slavery, pitying the condition of the unhappy victims of cruelty and oppression in the United States of America; and it tells the British public that its object is to do away with slavery, and to emancipate those who are in bondage. What Briton's heart is there but responds to such a sentiment as this? (Cheers) Englishmen are seeking for the liberation of the slaves; and, giving credit to the reports which they have heard respecting the American Colonization Society, without examining its principles, many benevolent individuals in this country have come forward and freely contributed to its funds. But instead of the institution being the enemy of slavery; instead of its being formed for the purpose oh annihilating the system; its object is to perpetuate it, and render more secure the property of man in man. I will show to the meeting, in a few words, that its object cannot be the abolition of slavery, because through a hundred of its organs it has over and over again denounced the proposition of liberating the slaves, except on condition of their being transported to Africa. And now let the audience understand, that, at the present time there are upwards of 2?000?000 of slaves in the United States, and that their annual increase is more than 60,000. If slavery, therefore, is to be abloished only as those who shall be emancipated are transported from the United States to Africa, we ask, when is slavery to cease in that country? The colonization Society, with all the efforts that it can bring to bear, cannot transport the annual increase of slaves, (hear, hear), and, therefore, if no other means be adopted for the abolition of slavery in America, its extinction will not take place until the last trumpet shall sound. (Immense applause).

Again I repeat, it is hypocritical, because it professes to be the friend of the free people of color, and to pity their

present condition; and hence, it says, ' It seeks to promote their welfare.' That gentleman (Mr. Abrahame) tells us that he is acquainted with the people of North America, and that this Society is formed, in part, for the benefit of the free people of color. Does that gentleman know that when an effort was made at New Haven, two or three years since, to establish a College for the instruction of the free people of color, - notwithstanding New Haven is within the boundaries of that part of the country which is called the ' free States', - yet the supporters of the Society came forward, held a meeting, and passed the most spirited resolutions against the establishment of that institution in the City? (,,ear, hear). Does that gentleman know that in the same State, a white female, in endeavoring to establish a school for the instruction of colored females, has been most inhumanly assailed by the advocates of the Colonization Society, who, in town meetings, passed resolutions against her benevolent object, as spirited as if the cholera were about to break out in the village, and they by a single effort of this kind could hinder its devastation? They would not have acted with more promptness, and energy, and violence, than they did, in persecuting this excellent lady, because her compassion led her to espouse the cause of the suffering blacks. (Cheers). they were ready to expel her from the country. I could relate many facts with regard to that part of the country, for which the Rev. Gentleman contends, and show that, instead of the American Colonization Society seeking the welfare of the free people of color, it is their most bitter enemy. Whenever it speaks of this class, both in public and in private, it calumniates and abuses them in the most extravagant manner, as its reports will abundantly show. Wishing to brief, and knowing that there are gentlemen present who will address you with more interest than I can, (hear, hear), I will make but one remark more, and that respects the designs of this Society, with regard to Africa. O , bleeding, suffering Africa! We hear of the sad condition which that country is in; it is enveloped in darkness, infinitely deeper than the sable hue of its degraded sons. The vilest superstition there abounds; and hence this Society represents it as their object to let in the rays of the gospel, and enlighten the people. But, according to their own reports, whom do they select as instruments to spread civilization and christianity: People not fit to live in America - people who are a disgrace to that country. ("ear, hear). I pity Africa as much as any man; I want her to be enlightened themselves. If we mean to evangelize Africa, let us at least send Christians there to do the work. (Cheers)

Mr. Garrison has well remarked that the free people of color, in the United States, are opposed to this Society. I will venture to assert that I am as extensively acquainted with them throughout both the free and slave States, as any man in that coun-

try; and I do not know of a solitary colored individual who entertains the least faborable view of the American Colonization Society; but, in every way, they possibly could, they have expressed their disapporbation of it. They have said to the Society " Let Us Alone." The argument which brought by the friends of the Society in favor of colonization is, that the white population of America can never amalgamate or live on terms of equality with th blacks. Be it so. Let it be admitted that their prejudices are strong. All that I will say is, that if such be the case, they ought not to send an agent to this country to ask assistance to enable them to gratify a prejudice of which they ought to be ashamed. (Cheers)

ADDRESS DELIVERED AT TROY, N. Y. ON THE CELEBRATION of the Abolition of Salvery, in the State of New York, July 6, 1829.

By

Nathaniel Paul, Pastro of the First African Baptist Church of Albany, N. Y.

Thie world is a world of changes and afflictions,. These are not necessarily confined to any one sect or race of people. Prosperity and adversity seem alternately to take the place of each other, to the end that man should find nothing after. Riches take to themselves wings, and leave their owners in sorrow; and the man enjoying affluence today, may become the subject of abject poverty tomorrow; and fortune may smile propitiously upon the beggar, take from his cottage, and set him among the princes - monarchs that have swayed wide the sceptre, who have had kings for their people, and nations for their provinces, have been compelled to vacate the imperial throne, and exchenged the palace for a dungeon, and have ended their days in prison, while one of the meanest peasants, in their late dominion, has been exalted to the throne, and worn the royal diadem. Nations with whom the arts and sciences have flourished whose glory has reached to the heavens, and their domonion unto the ends of the earth, have been subdued by a people that were scarcely known, and the objects of their pride and magnificence trodden to the dust, and their subjects have degenerated to barbarians. And why should it be so, we cannot tell; but this certain, that he who hath measured the waters in the hollow of his hand, that meeteth out the heavens with a span - that comprehendeth the dust of the earth in a measure - that weighs the mountains in scales and the hills in a balance, controls the destinies of men - who in the exercise of his sovereign authority says unto the fools deal not foolishly, and to the wicked lift not up the horn, speak not with a stiff neck; for promotion cometh neither from the east, nor from the west, nor the south, but God is judge, he putteth down one and setteth up another

" Here he exalts neglected worms,
To sceptres and a crown,
And there he turns the following leaf,
And treads the monarch down.
Nor Gabriel asks the reason why,
Nor God the reason gives,
Nor dares the favorite angel pry,
Between the folded leaves."

It is from this consideration, that we forbear to contend with the Almighty, and bow in submission to that providence which

has permitted unhappy ill-fated Africa so long to suffer beneath the weight of cruel oppression. Nor will we demand why the light of religion and science, which once shed forth its refulgent rays to enlighten her inhabitants, has been extinguished; and a darkness succeeded, imperious, as that which once veiled her own Egypt upon thatfearful and prolonged night, in which no man knew his brother. Nor will we ask why her villages have become depopulated and her soil crimsoned with the blood of her slain; or why her children from generation to generation should, by the hand of averice, be torn from her bosom and transported to every clime, to wear the manacles of slavery and die in despair; or why the eye that can weep and the heart that can sympathize with the misfortunes of others can remain unmoved at the tale of her woes and look with perfect apathy upon her sufferings. But it is not my intention on this occasion to would afrech the feelings of my auditors by a recital of injuries, which have been sustained either by ourselves or our ancestors. Frequently has this subject been addressed to your feelings, and repeatedly has it drawn from you the tears of sympathy, but let those tears be dried and the injuries of the past be forgotten. The scene has in some degree, changed, and brighter days, and fairer prospects open before us; already are the eyes of philanthrophists open to behold our affliction, and the sympathises of the benevolent are roused into action by the story of our wrongs, and the energies of thousands are enlisted in our cause. They have put forth their strength to arrest the career of the tyrant, and tear from his unhallowed grasp the victims of oppression. Already have they succeeded in this enterprise so worthy of their best efforts, beyond the most sanguine expectation of their warmest friends. And succeed they will, for God is on their side! And their work will never stop until the following truths are realized by all classes of people in their most extensive import, " That all men were created equal, and endowed by their Creator with certain inalienable rights, that among them are life, liberty and pursuit of happiness." and until the foul stain of slavery, which has so long tarnished the glory of this country shall be eternally erased.

Friends and fellow citizens of the state of New York, I congratulate you upon the auspicious event which has congregated us in the temple of the most high this morning. That memorable event which has enabled us to greet each other as freemen, as long as yonder sun performs his successive journays shall it never be forgotten, " sooner let our right hand forget its cunning and our tongues cleave to the roof of our mouths, than we should forget, as oft as the revolving year brings round the joyful day, to repair to the house of our God, and offer up the grateful emotions of our heart, with the profoundest homage to his holy name as the author of this and every blessing. Nor will we forget to render the just tribute of respect to those who have espoused our cause, and vindicated the rights of the African people. And while we

felicitate each other in view of what has already been effected and profusely pour forth our thanks of our God, and our benefactors, we will make the most faithful inquiry in what way we shall best appreciate the blessing conferred. It will no doubt be admitted that, although the shackles of slavery are broken, and we are no longer under bondage; yet many circumstances have combined to render our condition in many things, far behind our more highly favored country-men. But believing, that as men, we form a component part of the human family, and that God is no respecter of persons, but hath made of one blood all nations of men to dwell on all the face of the earth, we cannot admit for a moment the sentiment which has been so long urged by some that we are an inferior race of beings. We are persuaded that we possess the same nature, genuis and ability with others and that our genius, ability and talents are as susceptible of improvement as those of any other class of men, if so it becomes us to take a firm and manly stand, and to urge our way forward with a resolute determination that we will rest in nothing short of equality in every desirable attainment. You are aware that the idea has been suggested and the sentiment has become popular to a considerable extent, that such are the prejiduces existing between the white and colored population, or rather in the white against the colored people, that it will be impossible essentially to improve our condition, while we live in this country, and that the only possible means by which we can be benefitted is a total emigration to the land of our forefathers. That prejudices fo exist is too obvious to be denied, and that these prejudices are extensive and deeply rooted is equally true; but that they are so universal, as is pretended, or so deeply rooted that they cannot be eradicated, is to me at least doubtful. I mean not to raise my voice against all the operations of the colonization society, whatever may have been the motives of its founders, or present supporters, I would sich to give it an impartial investigation, and award to it all the merit to which it can justly lay claim. I am free to admit that a well regulated colony upon the western coast of Africa will be productive of great good; it will do much toward exterminating theforeign slave trade, and open an asylum for those slaves that may be manumitted in this country; and, above all, be instrumental of introducing the light of science and religion into a portion of vast and benighted continent; and this in processs of time may probably be effected. But the idea of an entire emigration to that country, we denounce as utterly chimrical and absurd. It is estimated that at the present time, there are in the United States, 2,500,000 of colored people, and that their annual increase is from 60 to 80,000, and that the bare cost of their removal, according to the report of the committee of the United State Senate on foreign affairs, would be according to the following ratio: " the removal of the free people of colour $28,000,000 and of their annual increase $700,000 the increase of the slaves $5,700,000, and the whole number of slaves 190,000,000." so that the aggregate amount, neces-

for the removal of both freemen and slaves, would be at least 218,000,000; this is probably as correct as any estimate that can be found. We say in view of these facts that if indeed the Almighty would work a similar miracle to that which was wrought in the deliverance of ancient Israel and divide the Atlantic as he did the Red Sea, then might this thing be done. But if every physical obstruction were removed, and facilities for our emigration were afforded, and the people with one consent offered themselves to go, then, if we may believe the advocates of this new system, there are obstacles of a moral nature still more forbidding. It is a truth not to be controverted, that virtue and science are the main pillars of a representative government; and it has been repeatedly and correctly said, remove these even from the American republic, and the political fabric of this country would fall, as similar governments, for want of them, have fallen in ages past, and is it the intention of the society to establish in their colony a government similar to that of the United States? If so, reason would dictate, that similar materials are necessary for its formation, and what according to their own language is the moral condition of those, who are to compose this colony? From the lips of their speakers, and the pens of their scribes, we find them so far from possessing the necessary qualifications, that the opposite vices are represented as constituting their leading characteristics. We have repeatedly been told, that we were ignorant vicious, depraved and wretched, composing a banditti of thieves, robbers and murderers fitted only for the alms-house, prison or scaffold; indeed there seems to have been a want of language to fully express the wretchedness of our condition.. We feel however constrained to enter our protest against the whole of this unfavorable representation; but we would nevertheless propose this question. If indeed we are, in the opinion of those men thus degraded, and if the colony in Africa is to be productive of the happy consequences pretended, are there no preparatory measures that can be adopted by which the intended colonists may be better prepared for such an undertaking? But laying aside this with every objection of a similar nature that can be raised let us view the subject in the fairest possible light. We will suppose the expectations of its advocates and patrons in a measure realized, the colony established, its population numerous, its climate healthy, its soil productive and its government well regulated. Still I would dispute the policy of a total emigration, I can yet see no just cause why we should leave this country; surely the inhabitants have not yet become so numerous as to render it necessary; according to the opinion of that distinguished statesman the late Governor Clinton, this state alone is capable of supporting more people, than the whole confederacy contains. We claim this as our country, as the land of our nativity, and to achieve its independence, our fathers faced her enemies on the field of battle,

and contend even unto death. But it is probably that those who differ in opinion from us on this subject, would not absolutely deny us the right for which we contend, but would urge our emigration as a matter of expediency founded on the existing prejudices to which we have alluded. That they exist we have admitted; but who is the man that retains this haughty and disdainful disposition? Who is the man that despises the works of his Maker, and scorns his fellow man on account of his complexion: Is it the christian? We answer no! taught by the precepts and example of his Savior, who was meek and lowly in heart, he learns to esteem others better than himself. ye may indeed profess christianity and be numbered with the saints of God on earth; but if he can look with contempt upon a fellow mortal, because the tinge of his complexion differs from his own, I care but little what place he may fill in the church, whether the stands in the pulpit or ses in the gallery, his soul is as destitute of the holy religion of the Cross of Christ, as the wild uncultivated Hottentot is of civilization; and with all his pretentions to piety, he has one short lesson of intrinsic moral value to learn, before he has a right to the name he bears. " As yet would that others should do unto you, do ye also to them likewise." Or is ~~the~~ it the Patriot? Taught by the pure principles recognized in the declaration of the independence of this country, his inmost soul abhors such pitiful insolence and pride. we soars above such detestable weakness, lifting the banner of liberty and equality, he proclaims equal and exect justice to all. Is he the gentleman, he may indeed wear the garments of such, but he is astranger to those refined principals, which reign in the heart of the well bred man. And however he may boast his attainments, he is, at best, but a vain, self-conceited coxcomb, and altogether unworthy the notice of the man of reason or candour. No we are bold to affirm that the christian, the patriot, and the gentleman will esteem others according to their moral moral worth. If sobriety, industry and prudence characterises their conduct, it follows as a necessary consequance, that they will be respected by men possessing like virtues. I cannot therefore believe, that our cause is altogether so hopeless in this country, as is pretended, nor will I yet despair of our ultimate success, in obtaining the object of our desire, on equal standing with the rest of community. And with an eye to this mark, as long as the vital fluid flows through the channels, that nature's God has provided, and I have a voice that can be heard, feeble as that voice may be, it shall be raised to encourage every descendant of Africa, to press his way through every obstacle, until this object is obtained, and he finds his standing firmly established upon this hallowed ground. But in order that the rights which we seek for may be obtained, there is a certain course to be pursued, and duties to be discharged, to which we ought to direct our undivided attention, and of these duties that which respects the religion of the Saviour stands pre-eminent. Think it not unreasonable, there-

fore, that I should at this time, direct your minds to its importance, " Seek first the kingdom of heaven and its righteousness, and all these things shall be added unto you." That wisdom which is from above is the principal thing, therefore get that wisdom, and with all thy getting, get understanding, exalt her, and she shall promote thee, she shall bring thee to honor when thou dost embrace her; for the merchandize of it is better than the merchandize of silver, and the gain thereof, than fine gold, she is more precious than rubies, and all the things thou canst desire are not to be compared unto her, length of days is in her right hand and in her left, riches and honor, her ways are ways of pleasantness, and all her paths peace; in a word, vice must be abandoned, virtue pursued, a due respect must be paid to the laws of God, and the laws of our country, and " whatsoever things are true, whatsoever things are pure, whatsoever things are lovely, whatsoever things are of good report, if there be any virtue, if there be any praise, think on these things.", and if after all, in this world, you find tribulation, in God you shall find peace. next to the obligations we are under to our God and ourselves, is the duty we owe to the rising generation, to your children that are growing up, as olive plants around your tables. It is the voice of wisdom I hear in loud and tremendous accents, declaring to you, " train up a child in the way he should go, and when he is old, he will not depart from it. And when I turn my attention to that portion of community and think that they are advancing soon to fill the places we now occupy, and cast an eye forward to their future condition and consider that they will be either industrious, virtuous, and respectable or, ignorant, idle and degraded, a blessing or a curse in their day and generation, I confess my weakness and acknowledge my want of intellectual strength, as well as power of language, to express the feelings of my heart, or to exhibit the subject with that clearness and force, that its merits demand, but, making the attempt, permit me to urge upon your attention, by every consideration that is connected with the present and eternal welfare of your offspring, the importance of their education, and when I speak of education I do not mean to insist on their being instructed in the higher branches of classical literature, except in certain cases, where a child manifests a genius and taste taste for science, but I mean in its elementary branches, I mean that education, which shall enable your children to transact with accuracy, the common business of life; and of such importance do I view this subject that had I children, and found it necessary, I would rise before the dawn of the morning, and the midnight watches should find my hands employed, I would eat but a scanty allowance of bread and water, and wear the coarsest attire, rather than fail of accomplishing so desirable an object, I would break through every obstacle, and place my children as soon as they were capable of receiving instruction, at some hallowed fountain, from which issues forth the streams of useful learning. And let me remind you, that even when this is effected, we are far from having

finished our duty, the foundation may be laid, but the superstructure is yet to be reared, it will do but little good to give your sons or daughters learning, if there are no facilities afforded, by which its usefulness may appear, and the condition of the succeeding generation will not essentially differ from that of the present, unless something more be done. To keep a child at school six or eight years will do but little to improve his condition; if after that period he is never to advance a step beyond the station of a house servant, or a common day lagorer, Heaven forbid that I should speak one word to bring reproach upon these stations. A man may fill either, and still be respectable. I only speak in allusion to that law of custom which has hitherto confined us to this narrow sphere of action; and many even now seem unwilling that we arise above it, but as long as the agricultural and mechanical branches of business are within our reach, why should we not avail ourselves of their benefits. N o branches of business are more respectable, and no class of citizens are more useful and independent. We would therefore urge on you the importance of placing your sons, at a proper age, in a situation where they may obtain a knowledge of some one of the various branches of mechanical art; or with the agriculturalist to learn to till the earth, and gether its precious fruits; and let your daughters learn to use the needle, and " to lay their hands to the spindle, and their hands hold up the distaff, to make fine liner for their covering and girdles for the merchant. And what, if at present we cnnot look for political, civil or military promotion, yet with a prudent course of conduct, in the pursuit of such business we may render ourselves more independent and happy, than the man who fills the gubernatorial or presidential chair and when it shall be once common to see the descendants of Africa, driving from their farms to the markey the products of the soil, and the fruits of their labor; and others, pursuing the mechanical arts, in some of their different branches; and when at some more distant period, they shall share in the manufacturing and commercial interests of the country and when, in a word, we shall see among us, an intelligent, industrious, frugal and virtuous people, then my word, my character, my life for it, prejudices, however long standing or deeply rooted will be eradicated, and distinctions shall be known no more.

In 1845 my field of labor was changed to Baltimore city, in which I was kept by Bishops Brown and Quinn for five years. In the early part of this year it was my privilege to deliver a lecture on " Benjamin Banneker," that extraordinary self-taught astronomer and almanac-maker for Maryland, Virginia, Gelaware, and Pennsylvania from 1701 to 1802. This was with a view to incite our young men to scientific pursiuts, and to raise money for the purpose of erecting a monument in his honor. On the 9th of July a committee of three, myself inculded, went to see if the bones of this illustrious man could be found. We reached Ellicot's Mills, and were conducted across the fields formerly owned by Banneker to the spot formerly used a grave-yard. Beneath two tulip-trees, so grown as to seem one, lay the mortal remains of the black astronomer of Maryland. A few yards to the north-west of the grave was the site of his homse, not a vestige of which could then be seen. It was marked only by a shallow cavity, at the south-eastern end of which stood a tall Lombardy poplar, said to be that which overshadowed the bagle end of his house. Mr. H -, one of the local preachers residing at the Mills, who used to be his messenger and errand-boy, related how he used to keep a pot hanging over the fire-place. Cutting a large piece of salt pork, he would throw a it into the pot, which held about two gallons, and resume his studies until it was sufficiently boiled. Then he would make corn dumplings, hard as a rock, and throw them in also. Again he would resume his studies until hunger roused him, when he would rise and eat his meal, consisting of salt pork and corn dumplings. Pork, corn-meal, and milk were his fare, and to supply the latter he kept a cow. Coffee and tea were never seen in his house.

A DISASTROUS VOYAGE.

In the latter part of July, 1846, I undertook my first voyage to Europe. I went as a gelegate from my own Church in Baltimore to the organization of the Evangelical Alliance in London. Rev. M. M. Clarke accompanied me as an associate delegate from the New York conference. For the first four or five days after leaving port we were favored with a stiff breeze, which bore us on rapidly. The weather was pleasant, and I enjoyed watching the seathe waves, crested with snowy whiteness; the darting motion of the ship as she leaped like an arrow from billow to billow; the green- and- white pathway in her wake; the little iron-gray birds, encircled with white (Mother Carey's chickens); and now and then a white circular motion of the waters out of which some inhabitant of the deep would poke a conical head up into the air, as though wishing to see what huge monster, with many a flapping wing, was skimming the surface of its watery home.

For two days the sun had arisen almost cloudless, and he held his radiant scepter over sea and sky until the close of each day, when the clouds and darkness overhung the skies, leaving but few stars here and there to peep down from heaven upon us. t was also remarkably calm, so that the vessel moved only from four and ahalf to five and a half knots an hour, and sometimes with so gentle a motion that her progress was imperceptible, while the entire surface of the ocean undulated without a foaming billow, almost as placid as the mountain lake when the gentlest zephyrs are blowing upon its breast. I stood on deck and looked upon the heavens, then upon the immense volume of waters that rolled beneath us darker than the deepest azure of the overhanging canopy of ether, until my soul was lost in wonder, love and praise at the beauty and sublimity of the scene. At one time I remaked to an intelligent young Scotchman: " How placid is the ocean. He is lika " a tame lion; but soon he may become excited , and lash his sides " foaming, roaring, and dashing the largest ship like amere cork " upon its billows." How little did I think that the truth of my remarks would be so dreadfully realizee in so short a time! but true is the old adage: " After a calm comes the storm."

About five days out, after all had retired to their berths except the crew on watch, when twoelve o'clock had meted out the last hour of Saturday night, lo! in an instant, while the ship was in nearly full sail, a squall arose. A terrific crash awoke us, and e hurried from our berths to find the ship tossing to and fro, from side to side, showing her keep as rapidly as the lightning stroke. The foremast had been snapped off almost to the very deck, as also the maintop mast, and the mizzen-top mast, which precipitated four sailors into the gaping deep, and there buried them until the judgment-day.

Sunday morning found us in a ship dismantled and useless. O what a terrible sight! I had seen a wrecked ship in pictures and beheld it in the graphic description of the narrator or the poet, but now my eyes beheld the reality for the first time, and the scene was terrible beyond description. There wer were, tossed to and from upon the wide ocean, not a speck of land to be seen nor a single ship to aid us. Where, then, could e look for succor? " Turn helpless souls to Thee, O Thou that dwellest " in the heavens! " was my cry. All that day and the Monday following we tossed upon the sea, the sun shining brightly at last, but the wind blowing stiffly and the waves now mounting up to heaven and then descending in opening chasms, while the stormy petrel on tireless wings seemed to glory in skimming their foaming crests. The scene was sublime and terrific, but God was there. He held the tumultuous waves in his fists.

God moves in a mysterious way
His wonders to perform;
He plants his footsteps in the sea,
And rides upon the storm.

What consolation this precious hymn afforded to my downcast and disappointed spirit at that hour! We had all expected to have been over nearly one-third of our journey at that time, but there we were with an unmanagable ship, whirling about in the Gulf Stream not more than five hundred miles from home, unable either to proceed or return, as we had no sails; and if we had had them, the wind was against us. I was greatly troubled as it seemed then impossible to reach London in time to meet the august body I designed to meet. What should we do after all our trouble, time, and expense, even should we be permitted to reach a haven in safety? But I cast my burdens upon the Lord, and prayed for patience.

Another day came to bear witness to His loving kindness and tender mercies in preserving us from the horrors of ship wreck and a watery grave. Soon after daylight we spoke a whaling ship, and our captain obtained a forty-foot spar and a coil of rope anr rigged up two sails. Then a meeting was held of the captain and some of the leading passengers, and it was decided not to attempt the passage, but to return to port. This we did, taking about thirteen days to reach there in our disabled condition.

In April following, while in New York, I attended a meeting for the reception of the Episcopal missionary from Liberia, Rev. Alexander Ctummel, at which the opening remarks were made by the lamented Rev. H. H. Garnett. They were very appropriate, while the reply to the reception address was full of interesting information respecting the capabilities of the native African, both physical and intellectual.

My Eastern labors took me in the month of August to the city of Rochester, N. Y., which was then the home of Frederick Douglass. His taste in the elegant and beautiful of nature had kept pace with his advancement in science. The balsam fir, the Norway spruce, the Canadian pine, and the cedar encircled his residence, while the sweet notes of the piano resounded within under the skillful touch of his daughter. it was on one of these musical occasions that I saw the father exhibited in him as I before had seen the orator and the man. She had performed several pieces on the instrument, and closed with the variations upon " Annie Laurie," when he sprung from his chair and seizing her hand in one of his, threw his arms around her, and, pressing her to hisbosom, exclaimed: " Rosa, my dear daughter, you have moved your Father's " heart!"

From Rochester I went southward, and passing through Binghamton, in the same State, I could not but think of another noble-minded man - Hon. Daniel S. Dickinson- whose home was there, and who in the hour of peril then confronting the nation had nobly plunged the partisan into the patriot. Those dark days brought

to the surface much latent talent, and turned it to the country's use.

The opening of 1862 found me in Washington, D. C. where I had never known that season of the year to be so bland and bright before. It seemed more like a day in May than the first of January. But what a contrast with the political and moral conditions of our country! Washington looked then more like a great military encampment than the seat of national legislation and judicial action. The greatest armies ever seen upon the American continent were preparing themselves for a deadly conflict, and the fate of millions was pendent on the result of their encounters.

While in Washington I spent a short time in the company of Senator

While in Washington I spent a short time in the company of Senator Sumner. My first impressions of him may be summed up thus: His whole expression was that of the student- acute and polished; of the gentleman- refined, but not stiff; of the philanthropist- true and free from egotism. I was introduced by Rev. Hamilton W. Pierson, D. D., President of Cumberland College, Kentucky, and the interview seemed mutually interesting and agreeable. Shortly after this I called to see the President of the United States, Abraham Lincoln. There I also met Hon. Mr. Washburn, of Illinois, and Carl Schurz. I found the President easy and urbane in manner, but not fluent on conversation, with a very careworn appearance and the countenance and expression of one who thinks deeply. The weight of the war was even then resting heavily upon him. He told me that he felt as though Providence had guided him, and enabled him to accomplish what he had accomplished.

Among the political wonders of the year was the emancipation of the slaves in the District of Columbia. It was my fortune to be there when it occurred, and to participate in the joys of the occasion. The sermon I preached on this event was put in pamphlet form for the use of posterity. At that time I was the presiding bishop of the second Episcopal District of the A. M. E. church, of which Washington and Georgetown, D. C., were my headquarters. On Friday afternoon, April 11th, 1862, Congress passed the bill abolishing slavery in the District of Columbia. The following Monday night I called on president Lincoln to know if he intended to sign the bill of emancipation, and thereby exterminate slavery in the District of Columbia? Having been previously informed of my intention to interview him, and having on my arrival at the White House sent in my card, he met me at the door of the room in which he and Senator Washburn were conversing. Taking me by the hand, he said: " Bishop Payne, of the African M. E. Church?" I answered in the affirmative; so with my hand in his he led me to the fire-place, introduced me to Senator Washburn, and

seated me in an armchair between himself and the Senator. At that moment Senator Carl Schurz entered the room and seated himself on the right of Senator Washburn . With these preliminaries, I will now state the substance of our conversation. I said: " I am here " to learn whether or not you intend to sign the bill of emanci- " pation?" He answered and said: " There was a company of gentle- men here today requesting me by no means to sign it." To which Senator Schurz replied: " But, Mr. President, there will be a com- " mittee to beg that you fail not to sign it; for all Europe is " looking to see that you fail not." Then said I: " Mr. Presi- dent, you will remember that on the eve of your departure from Springfield, Ill., you begged the citizens of the republic to pray for you." He said, " Yes." Said I: " From that moment we, the colored citizens of the republic, have been praying: ' O Lord just " as thou didst cause the throne of David to wax stronger and " stronger, while that of Saul should wax weaker and weaker, so we " beseech thee cause the power at Washington to grow stronger and stronger, while that at Richmond shall grow weaker and weaker." " slightly bending his head, the President said: " Well, I must be- " lieve that God has led me thus far, for I am conscious that I " never would have accomplished what has been done if he had not " been with me to counsel and to shield." But neither Carl Schurz nor I could induce him to say " Yes" or " No" to our direct ques- tion.

I had now consumed about three quarters of an hour of his time, and felt that it was my duty to withdraw. So, putting into his hand copies of the Christian Recorder and our monthly magazine, I told him that if he could find a leisure moment to look over them he would be able to see what the A. M. E. Church was doing to improve the character and condition of our people in the republic. There was nothing stiff or formal in the air and manner of His Excellency - nothing egotistic. He was a perfect contrast with President Tyler, to whom a friend introduced me in the White House, and in whose private parlor in the presi- dential mansion I had been invited to preach a funeral sermon over the corpse of his body-servant, who, with several of the Cabinet was killed by an explosion of a gun on one of the war- ships. President Lincoln received and conversed with me as though I had been one of his intimate acquaintances or one of his friend- ly neighbors. I left him with a profound sense of his real great- ness and of his fitness to rule a nation composed of almost all the races on the face of the globe.

In March Maj. M. R. Delaney left us for his work in the sunny, turbulent Sunny South. All the students and teachers ac- companied him to the university gates and sung the " Star Spangled Banner," after three cheers were given for the Major, three for Gen. Saxton, six for the President of the United States, and one groan for Jefferson Davis.

It was then my intention to go South within fifty days. During the session of the Baltimore Annual Conference the news reached us that the President had been murdered. It fell like a thunderclap. A committee immediately drafted suitable resolutions expressive of our sentiments at this national calamity, and these were followed by remakrs from bishops and brethren.

Early in May, 1865, I visited the rooms of the American Missionary Association and consummated my arrangements for the partial support of our missionaries in South Carolina, and two days later I sailed on Board the Government steamer " Arago", accompanied by Elder James A. Hardy and Licentiates James H. A. Johnson and T. G. Steward- missionaries to the freedmen of the South At Hilton Head the steamer was lashed to the wharf, and all were obliged to go to the provost marshal for passes, and to take the oath of allegiance before obtaining further transportation. Crowds of soldiers and civilians hastened to the steamer to look for friends and whatever news the " Arago" might bring. At Hilton Head we visited the rude sanctuary first erected by our first missionary to South Carolina. We soon left for Charleston. About six o'clock we were in sight of Folly Island; gradually Morris Island came in sight; then James; then Sullivan. Now we neared Fort Wagner; then Fort Sumter- places that shall be immortal in American history - then came Fort Moultrie and Castle Pinckney. The first sight of my native state was followed by indescribable feelings, that of my native city by pleasurable and sad emotions rapidly interchanging/ and the passage through the city was attended by the same. Destruction marked every square through which we passed. The holes made in the walls of the finest warehouses and residences; the burned, ruined walls of the Circular and Cumberland Churches - all showed the devastating hand of war, and the hot indignation of that God who, when he stretches out his arm against the oppressor, never draws it back till every fetter is broken and every slave is free. I met a large number of old school mates and friends of my early youth, who rushed to greet me, many of whom I recognized, and many others I namde at sight, even after a separation of thirty years

IN ENGLAND

The next morning was Sunday. The sun shone brightly, but the atmosphere was humid and chilly. A servant was sent to conduct me to the Queen Street British Wesleyan Methodist Church. I was at first surprised to hear a litany so long and so much like that of the Church of England, with chanting interspersed, occupying about forty-five minutes. I repeatedly said to myself: " This cannot be a Methodist Church; the servant must have misunderstood his instructions, and has led me to one of the Established Churches." It was not until the pastor ascended [illegible]

the pulpit, without a gown of any kind, and entered into an extemporaneous prayer having all the warmth, compass, and power of a true Methodist that I perceived I was really in such a church. As the pastor became eloquent and enthusiastic, gathering into his arms and offering to the throne of God all nations and Christians of all the earth, my own soul melted and flowed into my eyes; for I thought of my own flock and my own native land, which needed the continual smiles of the Eternal upon them. I nearly wept aloud; and, finding my emotions overcoming me, I placed my feet, so to speak, upon my heart, and put out the burning fire. Then came the hymns - the whole stanza of eight lines being lined out, a custom new to me. What shall I say of the sermon? It was well digested, clear, systematic, beautiful, sublime, and deeply evangelical. It was good to be there. In the afternoon I attended St. Paul's Cathedral and heard an excellent discourse. The style differed widely from that of the one heard in the morning, being characterized by more of logic and less of rhetoric; more of the sober, of the common life of Christianity, and less of the beauties of the imagination. This difference might be the result rather of age and experience than of brain and mental training; for the Methodist preacher was a very young man, and therefore ardent, while Canon Melville was an old man, and therefore dealt more with the stern realities of the Christian pilgrimage. The cathedral worship partook of a great deal of the Roman Catholic. Its chanting and responses were sublime; now we heard voices coming faintly, almost in warblings - from the clouds, as it were- then the loud tones of the full choir at hand; while ever and anon came over and down upon us the variations, the thunderings, the diapason of the powerful organ, which rolled through the arches of this towering temple as music from the skies, while the Amens were chanted by appointed persons, and rang through the immense building in tones angelic, as well as solemn. The service continued for an hour and three quarters, during half of which time I, with many others, was obliged to stand.

The next day was a great day for the people of England- the laying of the corner-stone of the Memorial Hall of Art and Science, to be called the Royal Albert Hall in memory of Prince Albert, who was beloved on account of his manly virtues and great public spirit. We stationed ourselves, with others, in Hyde Park, at the gate-way through which the queen must pass, where we had a full view of her noble face as she rode past with her two daughters.

By William G Allen.

Allen p

PLACIDO.

The true wealth and glory of a nation consist not in its gold dust, not in its commerce, nor in the grandeur of its palaces, nor yet in the magnificence of its cities, - but in the intellectual and moral energy of its people. Egypt is more glorious because of her carrying into Greece the blessings of civilization, than because of her pyramids, however wondrous, her lakes and labyrinths, however stupendous, or her Thebes, though every square marked a palace, or every alley a dome. Who hears of the moneyed of Athens, of Rome? And who does not hear of Socrates, of Plato, of Demosthenes, of Virgil, of Cicero? Are you in converse with him of the " Sea-girt Isle," and would touch the chord that vibrates most readily in his heart? - then talk to him of Shakespeare, of Milton, of Cowper, of Bacon, of Newton, of Burns, of Scott. To the intelligent son of the " Emerald Isle," talk of Curran, of Emmett, of O'Connell. Great men are a nation's vitality. Nations pass away,- great men, never. Great men are not unfrequently buried in dungeons or in obscurity; but they work out great thoughts for all time, nevertheless. Did not Bunyan work out a great thought all-vital and vitalizing, when he lay twelve years in Bedford jail, weaving his tagged lace, and writing his Pilgrim's progress? The greatest man in all America is now in obscurity. It is he who is " the Lord of his own soul," on whose brow wisdom has marked her supremacy, and who, in his sphere, moves

" Stilly as a star, on his eternal way."

A great writer hath said, " Nature is stingy of her great men." I do not believe it. God doeth all his work fitly and well; how, therefore, could he give us great men, not plentifully, but stingily? The truth is, there are great men, and they are plentiful,- plentiful for the times, I mean, - but we do not see them, because we will not come into the sun-light of truth and rectitude where, and where only, dwelleth greatness. Placido was a great man. He was a great poet besides. He was a patriot, also - how could he be otherwise? Are not all poets patriots?

" Adios Mundo," cried he, as with tear-bedimmed eyes he looked up into the blue heavens above him, and upon the green earth beneath him; and upon the portals of the universe of wisdom, majesty, and power. Was there no poetry in this outburst of a full heart, and in this looking upward to heaven? " Adios Mundo," cried he, as now beholding, for the last time, the home of his love,- he bared his bosom to the death-shot of the soldiers. Great was Placido in life, - he was greater still in death. He was the faith which fastens itself upon the everlasting I Am. Call you that greatness which Pizarro achieved when, seizing a

sword and drawing a line upon the sand from east to west, he himself facing south, he said to his band of pirates:) Friends, comrades, on that side are toil, hunger, nakedness, the drenching storm, desertion, and death; on this side, ease and pleasure. There lies Peru with its richness; here Panama with its poverty. Choose, each man what best becomes a brave Castillian. For my part I go to the south;" suiting the action to the word? So do I, - but look yet, this is merely the greatness of overwhelming energy and concentrated purpose, not illuminated by a single ray of light from the Divine. See here, how Placido dwarfeth Pizarro when he thus prayeth,

" God of unbounded love, and power eternal!
To Thee I turn in darkness and despair;
Stretch forth Thine arm, and from the brow infernal
Of calumny the veil of justice tear!

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O, Kings of kings! my father's God! - who only
Art strong to save, by whom is all controlled,-
Who giv'st the sea its waves, the dark and lonely
Abyss of heaven its light, the North its cold,
The air its currents, the warm sun its beams,
Lift to the flowers, and motion to the streams:

All things obey Thee; dying or reviving
As thou commandest; all, apart from Thee,
From Thee alone their life and power deriving,
Sink and are lost in vast eternity!

x x x x x x x x x x x x x x x

O, merciful God! I cannot shun Thy presence,
For through its veil of flesh, Thy piercing eye
Looketh upon my spirit's unsoiled essence,
As through the pure transparence of the sky!
Let not the oppressor clap his bloody hands,
As o'er my prostrate innocence he stands.

x x x x x x x x x x x x

But if, alas, it seemeth good to Thee
That I should perish as the guilty dies,
Still, fully in me, Thy will be done, O God! "

Placido had a symmetrically developed character. All great men have this. His intellectual and moral nature blended as

" Kindred elements into one."

An ancient philosopher hath said that the passions and the soul are placed in the same body, so that the passions might have ready opportunity to persuade the soul to become subservient to their purpose. A terrible conflict. And yet through it Placido passed triumphantly.

Placido was born a slave on the island of Cuba, on the plantation of Don Terribio De Castro. The year of his birth I am unable to give, but it must have been somewhere between the years 1790 and 1800. He was of African origin. But little is known of his earliest days save that he was of gentle demeanor, and wore an aspect which, though mild, indicated the working of great thoughts within. He was allowed some little advantage of education in his youth, and he evinced great poetic genius. The prayer just quoted was composed by him while he lay in prison, and repeated on his way from his dungeon to his place of execution. The Heraldo, a leading journal of Havana, thus spoke of him after his arrest:-

" Placido is a celebrated poet, - a man of great genius, but too wild and ambitious. His object was to subdue Cuba, and make himself the chief."

The following lines, also, were found inscribed upon the walls of his dungeon. They were written on the day previous to his execution.

"O, Liberty! I wait for thee,
To break this chain, and dungeon bar;
I hear thy voice calling me,
Deep in the frozen North, afar,
With voice like God's, and vision like a star.

Long cradled in the mountain wind,
Thy mates, the eagle and the storm:
Arise; and from thy brow unbind
The wreath that gives its starry form,
And smite the strength, that would thy strength deform.

Yet Liberty! thy dawning light,
Obscured by dungeon bars, shall cast
A splendor on the breaking night,
And tyrants, flying thick and fast,
Shall tremble at thy gaze, and stand aghast."

In poetis feeling, patriotic spirit, living faith, and, withal in literary beauty, these lines are not surpassed; and they cannot fail to rank Placido not only with the great-hearted but with the gifted men of the earth. A tribute to his genius is recorded in the fact, that he was ransomed from slavery by the contributions of slaveholders of Cuba. Placido was executed on the 7th of July, 1844. On the first fire of the soldiers, no ball entered his heart. He looked up, but with no spirit of re-

venge, no aspect of defiance,- only sat upon his countenance the desire to pass at once into the region where no death is.

"Pity me," said he, "and fire here," - putting his hand upon his heart. Two balls then entered his body, and Placido fell.

As Wordsworth said of Toussant, so may it be said of Placido,)

~~Thou hast left~~xxx

" Thou has left behind thee
"Powers that will work for thee; air, earth, and skies.
There's not a breathing of the common wind
That will forget thee; thou hast great allies,
Thy friends are exultations, agonies,
And love, and men's unconquerable mind."

The charge against Placido was, that he was at the head of a conspiracy to overthrow slavery in his native island. Blessings on thee, Placido! Nor didst thou fail of thy mission. Did the martyrs, stake-bound, fail of theirs? As the Lord liveth, Cuba shall yet be free. That Placido was at the head of this conspiracy there is not a doubt; but what his plans in detail were, I know not; the means of acquiring them are not within my reach. Nevertheless, from the treatment throughout of the Cuban authorities towards Placido, we may safely conclude that Placido's plan in detail evinced no lack of ability to originate and execute nor of that sagacity which should mark a revolutionary leader. Placido hated slavery with a hatred intensified by the remembrance of wrongs which a loving and loved mother had borne. The iron, too, had entered into his own soul; and he had been a daily witness of scenes such as torment itself could scarcely equal, nor the pit itself outdo. Call you this extravagance? You will not, - should you but study a single chapter in the history of Cuban slavery. Do you honor Kossuth? - then forget not him who is worthy to stand side by side with Hungary's illustrious son. What may be the destiny of Cuba in the future near at hand, I will not venture to predict. What may be her ultimate destiny is written in the fact that,- " God hath no attribute, which, in a contest between the oppressed and the oppressor, can take sides with the latter."

This sketch though hastily written, and meagre in detail as it must necessarily be, will show, at least, by the quotations of poetry introduced, that God hath not given to one race alone, all intellectual and moral greatness.

William G. Allene

Smith, Rev. S. J. May among the whites and Rev. J. M. Loguen and Samuel R. Ward among the colored men met to devise methods of procedure and and while they formulated the plan, they sent Messrs. Ward and C. C. Foot of Michigan (the latter there at the Liberty Party convention) to address the throng. as evening came on, the crowd began to gather by the thousands in readiness for the court room. Ward and Foot entertained the multitude until liberation arrived. by turns their lond and clear voices rolled through the moist twilight until night set in. They were heard distinctly at the Empire and Syracuse houses and the passers in the streets caught the sound, and reminded of the imprisoned slave, merged into the black mass at the police office. (Loguen Narrative page 410). " Ward's speech was short but effective. He counseled the citizens to come together and see the thing done. If a man was to be taken from this city back into slavery against his will, and in chains, it would be well to see how it was done and who would do it." It is only necessary to add further that according to the plans laid by the committee who came upon the scene about 3 P. M., the doors and windows of the police station (the little court room) were demolished and rushed by the crowd, the officers overpowered, and Jerry taken from them and after being paraded about the city on men's shoulders, was finally provided for and sent to Canada, and his chains and handcuffs filed off and sent in a Mahogany box to President Fillmore! There ended one of the most celebrated cases of slave rescue in antislavery annals. (The Liberty Party people reassembled and completed its convention the next day, with a set of stinging resolutions, one of which ran: WHEREAS, Daniel Webster that base and infamous enemy of the human race did make the boast above mentioned

" RESOLVED that we rejoice that the city of Syracuse the antislavery city of Syracuse, the city of antislavery conventions, our beloved and glorious city of Syracuse still remains undisgraced by the fulfilment of the satanic prediction of satan's Daniel Webster.

But the government began forthwith to exert every effort to punish the rescurers of Jerry, and Ward who had been one of the most active leaders in the affair could expect no mercy from the United States Court, if once he should get into their hands. Besides both he and the Rev. J. M. Doguen another very active man in the case, were themselves escaped slaves then liable to operations of the same law they were resisting. They were not only in danger for having resisted the law to aid others but were fugitives now likely to be pointed out to any one who might come and falsely claim them. They both left Syracuse for Canada without undue delay - Loguen for only a short sojourn, Ward for all times. Ward went at first with his friend Charles C. Foote back into Michigan, but such was the industry and effort of the government to get him that he concluded to leave the country at least for a

time. Frederick Douglass speaking of the hardships of the Fugitive Slave Law and this particular incident says: " Bishop Daniel A. Payne of the A. M. E. Church stopped over at Rochester to consult with me about fleeing to Canada. When I told him I did not wish to leave while Garnet and Ward remained, " Why," said he, " Ward? Ward, he is already gone. I saw him crossing from Detroit to Windsor." I asked him if he were going to stay and he answered: " Yes we are whipped, we are whipped and we might as well retreat in order." " This" continues Douglass, " was indeed a stunning blow." This man had power to do more to defeat this inhuman enactment than any other colored man in the land; for no other could bring such brain power to bear against it. I felt like a beseiged city at news that its defenders had fallen at its gates". (Autobiography page 347) (Douglass' talk was more heroic than his actions in such emergency; for in less than eight years he found himself in connection with the John Brown case exactly in the same situation as was Ward before him, and with far less implication in the affair than had Ward in the Jerry rescue, yet he did not stand on the order of going to Canada and even to England - There is also a lapsus calami in saying he did not wish to go while Garnet and Ward remained; for Garnet, too, was out of the country, and in Europe at this time).

Whatever were the regrets of those who had no part in the rescue, the trend of subsequent events showed that ward moved none too rapidly. Almost before he reached Canada a syracuse paper was gloating, declaring that there are other ministers as guilty though they may have had more discretion and less valor, than their black brethren Ward and Loguen." x x x x A flight to Canedo will avail them not. under our treaty with Great Britain they must be given up even if they take refuge in Windsor castle or St. James Palace." - (Syracuse Star at the time) Our fugitive for justice finally took up residence at Toronto, and was followed thither shortly by his family, where he continued to live for the next 18 months, and they for the next six years. Soon after settling at Toronto Ward became a member and later on an agent of the Canadian Antislavery Society, and in that capacity traveled into every part of the country. We made it his especial duty to investigate the conditions of the colored settlements then largely made up of escaped slaves from the United States, and sent his observations in an occasional letter to Frederick Douglass' paper as had been his custom since the suspension of his own paper. Indeed our author was announced as the partner of Douglass in the publishing of the above paper during his last year in America, his special work being to travel, send letters and spread the circulation and influence of the paper. Although his sojourn in Canada began only in the autumn of 1851, yetsuch was our author's industry while there that the Antislavery Society of that country delegated him to visit England in the interest of the Canadian

colored people whose numbers and needs had been so greatly increased by the evil effects of the Fugitive Slave law. ward ventured therefore into New York City in late April 1853 where he took a hasty farewell of a few friends, secured passage on the Cunard liner Europa through the kind efforts of Lewis Tappan, and sailed for Great Britain on the 18th of April, 1853. On board the ship the usual discourtesy of not permitting him to dine with the others passengers was of course promptly extended him; that was then the sine qua non of colored tourists from America; but the passenger yielded his rights not without protest, and was finally successful in his war with this last proscription, for long before reaching the other side he moved about the boat at will and was visited and received by Thackery the novelist who was returning a fellow-passenger with Ward from southern hospitality which had left him more than a quasi-believer in Negro slavery.